

where identity with wellknown terms is evident, this is noted in the index. In almost all cases the English text is preserved for the same obvious reason.

3. During the Conference Mrs. Janet Pott gave a short summary of the highly valuable material collected by a Chitrali prince, Shahzada Hussam-ul-Mulk. Following the author mythological texts from the Katis settling in Urtsun were included in a chapter simply called "Kalash mythology". I went back to the original text prepared by the author for publication with the help of Miss Audrey Boorne, but dropped the parts outside the scope of this volume (Khwar Folk Stories and Proverbs). The rest was divided into three separate

papers corresponding to the ethnic groups among whom the informations were collected. Mrs. Pott has written a short appendix giving the biographic data of this admirable man who has laid the foundations on which all further study of Chitrali folklore will rest.

4. No complete rendering of the papers delivered at Moesgard was endeavoured beyond the number of contributions already gathered by L. Edelberg. Some articles which were difficult to understand without the slides or the tape-recordings we could hear in Moesgard were suppressed. In the end, after some hesitation, I could not accept the publication of any parts of the discussion.

I cannot expect that all will be happy and content with this solution, but I hope that those of us who have still to publish their material will be stimulated to do so - by a glimpse on the preliminary reports of others disclosing so many unsettled problems.

#### LANGUAGES OF NURISTAN AND SURROUNDING REGIONS

#### Survey

Georg Morgenstierne

The Hindu-Kush region - a tiny speck if you look at a map of Asia - presents, especially in its western parts with Nuristan as the centre, an unusually large number of interesting cultural features, some of them restricted to one or a few tribes, others more or less common to the whole area.

Not only their ancient religion and traditions, their social organisation, their wooden architecture and carving, etc., but also their languages distinguish the Nuristanis from the inhabitants of the surrounding valleys, which had been converted to Islam at an earlier date.

There is no necessary causal connexion between the various cultural archaic features of this whole area. They are rather due to topographical factors and the relative isolation of the country. It goes without saying that the inaccessibility of these narrow mountain valleys, remote from the great thoroughfares, and not allowing the use of horses for riding or of pack-animals, has contributed to the splitting up into a large number of languages and dialects. For ages this area has been a haven of refuge for tribes from more fertile and inviting localities. Local material and religious culture has, of course, influenced the terminology of the languages, but has not affected their structure and internal relationship.

With the exception of Burushaski - Werchikwar in Hunza - Nagir and Yasin, which has no known relations anywhere else, and which has left but few traces of influence on their neighbours, all the other languages belong to the Indo-Iranian branch of Indo-European. The oldest known representatives of Indo-Iranian are the languages of the Rigveda in India and of the Avesta in Iran, which were still at the beginning of the last millennium B.C. not more different from one another than the Scandinavian languages of our days.

Iranian languages are, however, found only on the fringes of the areas in question. North of the Hindu-Kush Iranian dialects of an archaic type are spoken on the Pamirs and in Badakhshan. Only in a few places small groups of immigrants have crossed the Hindu-Kush barrier into Chitral and Gilgit.

In recent times Pashto has penetrated into the Hindu-Kush valleys, on the Kunar and Pech right into Nuristan. But the great bulk of the

languages are either of a purely Indo-Aryan type, or belong to the Kafiri group, with which I shall have to deal separately below.

Indo-Aryan and Iranian can conveniently be distinguished by a few striking phonemic features: An Indo-European palatal k' as in Latin decem, 'ten' (c pronounced as k) results in Sanskrit palatal sh, as in dushe, but in most Iranian languages in s (dasa). Indo-European s is retained in Sanskrit, but has, in most positions, changed into h in Iranian, thus Sanskrit sapta 'seven', Iranian hafta. This example also shows that p, t, k became fricatives (f, th, kh) before other consonants in Iranian, as, e.g., in thrayo 'three', Sanskrit trays.

I shall be using the term Dardic about the Hindu-Kush languages of a purely Indian<sup>1</sup> type, reserving the name Kafiri for a group of languages with which I shall be dealing separately below.

But Sir George Grierson, the eminent editor of the Linguistic Survey of India, in his pioneer book "The Písáca Languages of North-Western India", believes that Dardic (including Kafiri) "are neither of Indian nor of Eranian origin, but form a third branch of the Aryan (= Indo-Iranian) stock, which separated from the parent stem after the branching forth of the original of the Indian languages."<sup>2</sup> Some years later, Linguistic Survey of India, Vol.VIII, he somewhat modifies his views and considers that Dardic (including Kafiri) forms a separate group within Indian.

Grierson bases his opinion on the fact that the Dardic languages

have, to a great extent, retained Sanskrit phonemic features which had already changed in the Middle Indian languages, such as the distinction between three sibilants and the groups st, sht(sh). But this argument would also force us to assume that modern Icelandic ought to be separated from the rest of the Germanic languages on account of its many archaisms, or that the Logudorese dialect of Sardinia is not a true Romance language, because it has retained the 'hard' pronunciation of Latin, e.g. in kentu 'hundred'. There is, indeed, nothing in the Dardic languages which cannot be derived from Old Indian.

Grierson's views were easily excusable in his time, when our knowledge of Dardic and Kafiri was extremely restricted. It is more surprising that some distinguished scholars, relying on Grierson's authority, should still maintain them, when much more, if very far from satisfactory, materials have been made accessible.

Quite recently Professor Braj B. Kachru<sup>1</sup>, in his classification of "Kashmiri and other Dardic Languages",<sup>1</sup> has given an altogether muddled picture of the actual situation, full of grave mistakes, which I feel to be my duty to warn the non-specialist reader against. To give only a few examples: He includes among his Kafir-group languages, as well Wai-la as Waigali, although these names denote exactly the same language, adding as a separate item its sub-dialect Zonnjigali. Similarly Wasi-veri is only another name for Prasun. Not only does he take several Dardic languages to be Kafiri (note especially Pashai and Kalāsha-Pasha(!)), but he also includes Gujuri, which is not at all Dardic, but belongs to the Indian languages of the plains.

It will be convenient to retain the term Dardic for the group of in many respect archaic languages of the Hindu-Kush, although it is difficult to draw an exact border-line between them and the rest of the north-western Indian languages.

The south-easternmost Dardic tongue is Kashmiri. North of it we find Shina, with several dialects, in Gilgit and adjoining parts of the upper Indus valley. An archaic offshoot is Phalurn, spoken in some eastern side-valleys of Lower Chitral, closely related to which is Sawi in one village further down on the Kunar.

A number of dialects on the Indus below Shina and in the upper parts of Dir and Swat, Torwali, Bashkarik, etc., are usually grouped together as Kohistani.

The main language of Chitral is Khawar,<sup>2</sup> in many respects the most archaic of all modern Indian languages, retaining a great part of Sanskrit case inflexion, and retaining many words in a nearly Sanskritic form. Khawar possesses a rich treasure of folksongs and tales, and in recent years some books have been printed in Urdu script.

Historically closely connected with Khawar is Kalasha, spoken in parts of Lower Chitral, especially in the western side-valleys. Some Kalash still retain, as the last pagans of the Hindu-Kush, their ancient religion, but it seems to be dying out. According to their traditions the Kalash once occupied Chitral right up to Reshun, but have been driven back by the Khos, advancing from the North.

In the Kunar valley, on both sides of the Pakistani-Afghan border, Gawar-Bati is still spoken in a few villages. Related dialects are, or were till recently, spoken in the Pech valley, in Ningalum (at the opening of Waigal) and higher up in the side-valley of Grangal. A dialect of the Gawar-Bati type is found also in Shumshet, in a

1) Since in this connexion it cannot be misunderstood, I shall use the name Indian for what is usually called Indo-Aryan.

2) Grierson 1900.

side-valley of the lower Kunar, surrounded by speakers of Pashai.

A language of a type having affinities with Kohistani to the east is Katarkalai in the hills north-west of the confluence between the Kunar and the Pech, and till a few years ago it was spoken also in Wotapur on the Pech, just above Chagha Sarai.

Pashai(<sup>v1</sup>) is split up into a large number of widely differing dialects, extending from the lower Kunar and its side-valleys through the middle Pech, Lagman, Alingar, Alishang, Tagau and Nijrau, right up to Gulbahar, and till recently also in parts of the Panjshir.

Pashai is the last remnant of the language of Hindu-Buddhist civilization of Nagarāhāra, Lampāka and Kāpisha, driven up into their mountain valleys by comparatively recent Pashto speaking invaders. The Kardari Pashais on the middle Pech seem to have remained pagans nearly down to our times.

There remains to be mentioned the still unknown dialect of Shemul, in the uppermost part of the Darra-i Nur. It is impossible to decide to which group of neighbouring dialects it belongs.

It may be added that Tirahi, also a language of a Dardic type, is spoken by a few old people south of the Kabul river, between Jalalabad and the Khyber. The Tirahis were originally driven out of Tirahi, on the Pakistan side of the border, by the Pashto speaking Afridis.

Special problems arise regarding the languages spoken in Nuristan, for which I shall retain the now traditional name Kafiri, although the Nuristanis have all, especially since the time of Abdurrahman's conquest but some of them also before, been converted to Islam.

There are four, or, perhaps, five, Kafiri languages:

A. Northern Branch.

1. Kati group, consisting of the closely related dialects of:

a) West Kati in Ramgai and Kulam on the upper Alingar, and in Kantiwo (Ktiwi in their own language), a side valley of the upper Pech.

b) East Kati in the upper Bashgal valley, with Bargramatal as the most important village, and in a couple of villages, founded by pagan refugees from Bargramatal in the 1890es, in the Rumbur and Bomboret valleys in Chitral, above the Kalash.

c) Kamviri in Kamdesh (Kombrōm) and other villages in the lower Bashgal valley, with settlements also in Lower Chitral. A few villages in the central part of Bashgal speak a transitional dialect.

In general a) and b) are more archaic, especially as regards the preservation of postvocalic surd stops. On the other hand c) preserves certain unstressed vowels which have been dropped in West and East Kati. Thus, a), b) kto 'knife', but c) karo from 'kato'.

Also the vocabulary of c) presents some peculiarities. But a) and c) agree in forming the present with n, as against b) t, as in a), c)

kunum 'I do', b) kutum.

Kamviri has been thoroughly studied by Richard F. Strand, and Qazi Ghulam Ullah has written a grammar and a vocabulary of his mother tongue.

2. Prasun (Wasi)<sup>1</sup> is spoken, with slight dialect variations, in a valley at the top of the Pech. In its origin it can be shown to be closely related to Kati, from which it has adopted many loan-words, some of them quite ancient and more or less phonetically assimilated. But in its isolation it has undergone a number of striking sound-changes, giving it an aspect very different from that of the rest of the Kafiri languages and making it quite incomprehensible to its neighbours.

Thus d has become l, groups of consonants + x have been assimilated, and, most strange of all, an initial stop has in many cases been lost. Examples are Apak 'name of a pass'; Kati Paprok; (Yipe) 'Kantiwo'; Kati Ktiwi ( = "Kitwi"), with tv to p, as in c(i)pu 'four'; Kati ctwo; ulyrum 'wheat'; Kati gum. There are also many morphological innovations, and the vocabulary contains a number of archaic words unknown from other Kafiri languages.

Especially characteristic of Prasun is the hypertrophy of localizing verbal prefixes, demonstratives and adverbs, defining minutely the exact direction of an action or the place occupied by the object within the gul, which was at the same time the home-valley and the whole world of the isolated Prasunis. Similar features have been developed also in other Kafiri languages, especially in Kati, but nowhere else to such an amazing degree.

Prasun has been the object of a thorough study by Georg Buddruss.

B. Southern Branch.

3. Waigali in the side-valley of the Pech which is now usually called Waigal, although this is originally the name of its uppermost village.<sup>2</sup> The dialect variation within this comparatively small valley is remarkably great. A recent offshoot of Waigali is Zamyāki, spoken in Zamyāki (Lindalam), south of Kandai on the middle Pech.

East of Waigali, in the hills close to Katarkalai, we find Gambiri (Gemiri). The vocabulary is very similar to that of Waigali, but the

1) I retain this Kati name of the valley and the language, the local one being Wasī(-Gul), 'The Wasi-(valley, or world)'. The Pashto name is Parun.

2) The local name is Kalashum (Kalašum) and that of the tribe Kalasha (Kalasa). A connexion with that of the Kalash in Chitral is uncertain and at any rate difficult to account for.

morphology, even if of a decidedly Kafiri type, differ so much that it is perhaps rather to be taken as a separate language.

4. Ashkun, with slight dialect variations, in the mountains between Pech and the upper Alirgar, and in the large village of Wama on the Pech. It has close affinities with Waigali, but must be reckoned as a separate language.

5. Finally there is Dameli in a single village in an eastern side-valley of southernmost Chitral, between Mirkhani and Arandu. The vocabulary contains a large number of words of a Kafiri type, but since its morphology is rather different, it is difficult to decide whether it ought to be taken as a Kafiri language strongly influenced by Dardic, or as a Dardic one which has adopted a greater amount of Kafiri words than any other Dardic language.

The problem facing us is now: Do we have sufficient reasons for assuming the existence of a separate Kafiri group. As stated above, all those languages which have been classified as Dardic in this paper, are of a purely Indian origin, while retaining certain archaic features which have been lost in the languages of the plains.

Kafiri, on the other hand, is characterized by features which as far as I am able to see, cannot be accounted for as derived from Old Indian, but which indicate that Kafiri must have branched off in pre-Vedic times. They are mainly of a phonemic nature, the morphology of Old Indian and Old Iranian being so similar that we cannot expect to find traces of original differences having been carried down to modern Kafiri.

I can here give only a few examples illustrating the various points in which Kafiri differs from Indian in its phonetical development.<sup>1</sup>

1. The Dardic languages have retained the aspiration of surd stops and affricates (kh, th, ph, ch), while the aspiration of mediae has been given up by some of them, evidently in relatively modern times, or has been replaced by a special tone. Kafiri has given up all traces of aspiration at a very early, pre-Vedic date.
2. In most East Indo-European languages, the so-called satam group, original palatal k̥, resulted in a palatal or dental sibilant sh̥.<sup>2</sup> Thus Sanskrit dasha 'ten'; shatam 'hundred': Avestan dasa; satam. But in genuine Kafiri words a dental affricate ts has been retained, e.g. in Kati duts 'ten', Prasun leze (from lets-, cf. cpu-lts 'fourteen'; Waigali tsū 'dog', Dameli tsuna, cf. Sanskrit shun-, Avestan

<sup>sun-</sup>. This must represent an intermediate stage between the original k' and the sibilants sh̥, just as in Old French cent 'hundred' was still pronounced with an initial affricate ts, from which modern s. Also Indo-European \*sk' resulted in Kafiri ts, while Sanskrit has (c)ch, as in Kati, Waigali, Dameli ats- 'to come', but Sanskrit ā-gaccha-.

3. In some cases Kafiri ts goes back to Indo-European palatal k̥ + s, Sanskrit kṣ and Avestan sh, as in Kati, Ashkun its, Waigali ots 'bear': Sanskrit rksa-, Avestan arsha-. But Sanskrit kṣ may also go back to velar k + s, while Kafiri and Iranian distinguish between these two groups. Thus, e.g. Kati, Waigali maci 'honey', cf. Sanskrit maksika-, Avestan makhshī- 'fly, bee'.

4. In Sanskrit an Indo-European palatal g and a secondarily palatalized g both result in j, while in Kafiri, as well as in Iranian, they are kept apart as respectively Kafiri (d)z and j/zh, Iranian z and j. Examples are Kati dzo 'knee': Sanskrit jānu-, Avestan zānu-, but Kafiri jif 'bowstring': Sanskrit and Avestan j(i)yā-.<sup>1</sup>

5. On the other hand Sanskrit distinguishes the corresponding aspirated sounds from the non-aspirated ones. But palatal g'h results in h, e.g. in hima- 'snow', just as secondarily palatalized g'w'h in han- 'to kill'. Kafiri agrees with Iranian in having given up every trace of aspiration, while retaining the distinction between Kafiri dzim, Iranian zima- <g'hima- and Kafiri jan-, Iranian jan- < \*g'hēn-.

6. Kafiri retains dental s after u, in which position not only Indian and Iranian but also some other East Indo-European languages change it into sh̥/z̥. Cf. Sanskrit mīś-, Avestan mīsh- 'mouse', but Kati musū. This is an extremely archaic trait, the implications of which I shall be returning to.

The vocabulary of Kafiri agrees more with Indian than with Iranian. But Kafiri has for thousands of years been exposed to the influence of the neighbouring Indian languages, adopting a large number of loanwords from them. In many cases it is difficult, or even impossible to distinguish between words inherited from a common source and such borrowed at an early date from Indian, mainly Dardic. As might be expected the Indian influence is stronger in the Southern Branch of Kafiri than in the Northern, more isolated and remote one. Thus, to give just one example, Waigali dōsh, Ashkun dus 'ten', but Kati duts, Prasun leze.

Ancient Iranian loanwords are extremely rare. I know only one,

1) For further documentation cf. Morgenstierne 1945, 1926, 1929.

2) Cf. above.

1) Some Kafiri dialects have even retained the extremely archaic form gī, without any trace of palatalization.

viz. Kati namoc 'prayer'. But the vocabulary of Kafiri contains a number of words known from Iranian, but not from Indian, without there being any possibility of their having been borrowed from Iranian. We must remember that till quite recently Kafiri was not in contact with any important Iranian language. I shall give only a few examples:

Kati wär- (\*wgn-) 'to see' : Avestan vān-; Kati kats- 'to look' : Avestan kas-; Kati ew 'one' : Avestan eēva-, but Sanskrit eka-; Kafiri kand- 'to laugh' : Iranian xand-; Prasun yase 'belt' : Avestan yūh-.

There are even a few Kafiri words of apparently Indo-European origin, which are known neither from Indian nor from Iranian. One example is Kati pitsi 'pine' : Greek petukē. Another, which Professor Hamp has drawn attention to, is Kati zu, Waigali zor, etc. 'milk', which can be derived from \*dharn-, in its turn going back to Indo-European \*gala(k)-, cf. Greek Gala(kt-), Latin lac (\*glakt-). There may be some difficulties in accounting for the exact original formation of the stem, but Hamp's derivation is certainly possible and seducing.

It is not surprising that words of Kafiri origin are to be found, not only in Daneli, but to a less extent also in Dardic languages such as Gavar-Bati, Kalasha and Khowar.

It is not my intention in this brief survey to try to trace the earlier history and migrations of the Kafiri speaking tribes into their present homes. Some local traditions seem to point to the upper Pech valley as their homeland at some stage of their history. If these traditions are to be relied upon we must assume that the Southern Branch was the first to separate from the Northern one.

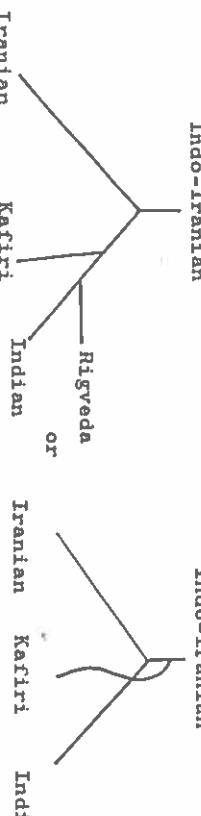
There are some indications of the Waigalis having at one time extended their territory towards the North-East right into the lower Bashgal valley, before the arrival of the Kam tribe. This might perhaps explain that Khowar orts 'bear' which must be a Kafiri loanword, has o as in Waigali ots, not l as in Kati, Ashkun (and Kalasha) its. At any rate the Kams must have left for Bashgal while the Kafe tribe still remained in the Kantiwo area, before part of it going west into Kulam and Rangal and another part towards upper Bashgal. But our knowledge is so scanty and so uncertain that it would be mere guesswork to try to form any hypothesis on this subject, or on the ethnic and linguistic relationship of the earlier stratum of inhabitants of Eastern Nuristan.

There are still prominent scholars who refuse to consider Kafiri as constituting, or at any rate embodying important elements belonging to, a separate branch of Indo-Iranian. They evidently prefer,

although none of them has, to the best of my knowledge, taken up the problem in detail, to believe that Sanskrit lh in hima- and han- has for unknown reasons split up into Kafiri dz and j/zh, resulting in a kind of mimicry of the original Indo-Iranian distinction. And they are willing to accept that Sanskrit sh and ch as well as in some instances ks, merged into Kafiri ts, while Sanskrit sh returned into dental s after u, but remained after ɛ! They must also assume that the Kafiri words mentioned above (such as 'kand- 'to laugh') and several others have been borrowed from some unknown Iranian source, although there is no evidence for believing that Kafiri had, till quite recently, been in contact with any Iranian language except the culturally and politically unimportant Munji north of the Hindu-Kush. I must admit that I find it impossible to share this view.

To me it seems far more probable that Kafiri goes back to the language of an advance-guard of the Indo-Iranian invaders. And I do not find it so very surprising when sometimes historical developments prove to have been much less simple than the models we in our comparative ignorance have been forced to construct.

One problem which I find it very difficult to solve, is whether the "ur-Kafirs" separated from Indian in pre-Vedic times, or if they branched off already before the final separation of Indian from Iranian. As a simplified model we may either assume



The retention of us against us in as well Indian and Iranian might count in favour of the latter hypothesis, but is to my mind not an argument strong enough for making a final decision.

We may perhaps be allowed to indulge for a moment in fancies about how wonderful it would have been if a Kafiri Rigveda or Avesta had come down to us. It would, I feel sure, have solved many puzzling problems about the development of Indo-Iranian - and certainly have raised new ones!

But we ought rather to be grateful that at least some scraps of information are still available to us about a language retaining pre-Vedic elements.

And, apart from this purely linguistic interest, the Kafiri languages form an important link in that chain of interesting traits which characterize the cultures of Nuristan, and render the study of this remote area so fascinating.

A KAFIR ON KAFIR HISTORY AND FESTIVALS

Knut Kristiansen

The manuscript from which the following chapters have been selected, begins with a warning to the readers:

"This story of mine is so painful that everybody who hears it, will have his heart broken".

Then follows the title:

"My heart-moving and lamentable story, compiled by Shaikh Abdullah Khan Sahib, a native of the country of Kafiristan, at present residing in Jalandar Camp."

A little more information is given on p.77 where the author gives his genealogy - not a very long one according to Nuristani standards, only 5 generations, but introduced in proud words:

"My family is known by the name of the Royal (سُنْت) Jandaran Branch, upon which other branches of the Kottes are dependent ... My genealogical tree is as follows: Sardar Maru, Sardar Shit, Sardar Janu, Sardar Kun, Sardar Kashmir, this humble sinner Shaikh Abdullah Khan,"

with a later addition in purple ink:

"Sardar Azar".

I first thought this Kafir name was Araz. Readers of Urdu manuscripts will know that dots are often placed where they do not belong. I am very grateful to Mr.Schuyler Jones for having corrected this misreading. He tells me that in Chitral he met the son of the author of this manuscript who told him that his father's name was Azar. In the following I shall use this Kati name.

Azar was the son of Sardar Kashmir, the Kati chief who in 1896, after the conquest of Kafiristan by Abdurrahman, fled from Bragamatal in the Bashgal Valley and settled with his followers - some 600 - in Brumotul in Chitral. His paternal uncle was Naru, identical with Kán Márá mentioned by Robertson as being the chief of all Bragamatal Katís. "Kán Nárá is not only the hereditary priest, but appears to be the undisputed chief of the tribe, a place he has obtained mainly through the aid of the Mehtar of Chitral, Amán-ul-Mulk, who was also his son-in-law. With the help of this ally, eight or nine years ago, he defeated the Ghazab Shah faction and caused its chief to flee from the country. Peace now prevails, but the two households are not yet on visiting terms. Kán Nárá has very few other enemies; he has killed

Richard F. Strand

Traditions of the Kom tribe provide a picture of ethnic distributions in eastern Nuristan (Kafiristan) prior to 1890. According to these accounts, some of which are corroborated by accounts from other neighboring tribes, ethnic distributions were rather different some fifteen generations ago than they are now.

The traditions state that the diverse ethnic groups of Nuristan were once concentrated in the middle Pech basin of central Nuristan. The Kom inhabited the village of Kaméjol in the side valley of Kamgél. The Kṣto, Mumó, and Binyó inhabited the hamlets of Küst, Mum, and Ni, respectively. Ktivi, Sāru (Vāmā), and Kalasim (the Vaygal basin) were then inhabited by ancestors of the present inhabitants. In eastern Nuristan the Jāzi occupied the present site of Kamdesh, and the Vay extended as far east as Kun (Kotyn).

Although the chronology is indeterminate in many cases, major tribal movements apparently occurred in the following order. The to moved from Küst eastward to the Nicengel and Dūnul valleys, over the lowlands of the Landay Sin valley from the confluence the Nicengel and Landay Sin rivers to Kamú. The Jāzi retained upper slopes of the Landay Sin valley.

The Binyó moved from Biuri to the present site of Binórm, a hamlet in Kamdesh. They gained much of the cultivable area on the upper slopes of the right bank of the Landay Sin, including land bordering the present ward of Pabüstō (the 'East Village') in Kamdesh. After a surprise attack on Kamdol by combined forces from Sāru, Vi, and Kalasim, the surviving Kom families fled Kamgél and moved to the site of the present village of Saskū, up the Landay Sin in Kamdesh. Finding this site unsuitable, they moved to Kamdesh. Jāzi, fearful of the warlike Kom, retired peacefully from Kamdesh safer quarters down the valley.

Through a series of wars the Kom encroached on Kṣto, Binyó, and territory until they became masters of the entire lower Landay basin. The Kṣto were left with only two small isolated areas and the villages of Kṣtorm and Dunul, and the Binyó and Jāzi absorbed by the Kom and reduced to client status. The Kom extended into the Kunar basin; they intermarried with the Vay inhab-

ants of Kun and gradually obtained Kun and some other villages along the Kunar. At their greatest expansion they controlled the Kunar valley from Bargam to Nagar, but their suzerainty in this area has been greatly reduced by the Afghans in recent times.

INVASIONS PRECEDING THE CONQUEST OF NURISTAN

Wazir Ali Shah

Professor Kakar in his interesting lecture on the conquest of Nuristan by Amir Abdur Rahman Khan of Afghanistan has given a detailed picture of the whole campaign. During the lecture he has mentioned about the invasions of this area prior to the one made by the Amir.<sup>1</sup> In this connection I would like to add some informations to expand the brief mention of relations between the former Rulers of Chitral, made in Mr. Kakar's talk.

Chitral's first known contact with an invasion of Nuristan was made in the beginning of the 16th century when Raja Wai, the Lash(-Kafir) Ruler of Bumburet invaded Lotdeh and sacked Burgamatal taking back many prisoners including twenty girls. It is said that made them dance in the nude which angered the gods who cursed him and his family.

In about 1540 AD the Rais Ruler of Chitral (who was Muslim) sent an expedition to Kamdesh under the command of Mohammad Beg Timuri. occupied the valley and got tributes from the Kams in the form of bees, honey and other articles. This tribute continued to be paid the Rulers of Chitral until 1895-96 when Nuristan was finally annexed to Afghanistan, and sent even after that for many years.

In about 1728, on the failure of the Kam tribe to send the tribute, Mehtar Shah of Chitral personally led an expedition to Nuristan and subdued the tribes. Two of his generals were earlier killed in fighting against them.

During the 1760's, Mehtar Khairullah, the Khushwaqt Ruler of Mastuj who also held Chitral, led an expedition against the Kams to punish them for supporting Ex-Nehtar Mohtara Shah Katur of Chitral against him. On his return from the expedition however he was ambushed near Urtsun by an Afghan force supporting Katur and led in fighting.

Mehtar Nizam-ul-Mulk of Chitral also invaded the area in 1893-94 on their refusal to pay the annual tribute. He sacked Lotdeh brought back over 150 headmen as prisoners, including Ishtaluk, and his family were expelled to Badakhshan where they became slaves and later returned to Chitral. They were given lands at

c.f.Kakar 1971, p.186sq. (note by the editor).

Gobor in Lotkuh where his son Jann lived and the family possess the property to this day. Some of the Meltars also married in the family.

6. Following the Afghan invasion in 1896 a large number of the Kam came over to Chitral and were settled in the upper Bumburet and Gobor. They were allowed to retain their old religion and culture, the last Kafir dying in the early thirties. The remaining however embraced Islam voluntarily and are now called 'Bashgali Sheikhs'.

ANNEX: SOME NOTES ON PERSONALITY AND ACHIEVEMENTS  
OF SHAHZADA HUSSAM-UL-MULK

Janet Pott.

The Shahzada Hussam-ul-Mulk is the grandson of Mehtar Aman-ul-Mulk who ruled Chitral for half a century up to 1892, and the son of Mehtar Shuja-ul-Mulk who also ruled for many years.

He has held high office in the Government of Chitral, and as Chief Secretary to the Mehtar - the hereditary ruler of Chitral - he visited Afghanistan and many Indian States before settling in Drosb as Governor of that Chitrali province.

During the last forty years, the Shahzada has done much to improve the conditions of the people of Drosb, by certain alterations in legal rights and by extensive irrigation schemes which brought fresh and under cultivation and made possible the installation of a small hydro-electric plant in Drosb.

Besides being a capable administrator and a benevolent landlord, he Shahzada has many interests, including sport and horticulture, but above all he is a scholar, well-read in Western as well as astern cultures.

Khowar, the regional Chitrali language, was largely oral until he Shahzada developed it as a written language and wrote a Khowar ext-book for schools. He spent five years in translating the Holy Quran into Khowar.

For many years he has studied and taken a great interest in the archaeology and history of Chitral and in its culture through the enturists.

As he explains in the introduction to his collection of Chitrali folk-lore, it is his desire to preserve the traditions and mythology of his country and to bring them to the notice of interested people beyond the borders of Chitral which have led him to the collection and publication of the Chitrali Folk-lore, Proverbs and Customs and of the Kalash Mythology.

The Kalash are a group of people living in Western Chitral who have adopted the Moslem faith but continue to practice their original and much older poly-theistic religion and customs. Their beliefs were once much more widely spread, and some of their customs, perhaps unconsciously, continue to be used in the rest of Chitral.

Although I have personally only had a brief opportunity of visit-

ing Chitral and meeting Shahzada Hussam-ul-Mulk, I share in his interest in the preservation of the culture of this unique district, and I also share in his delight in telling traditional stories to one's grandchildren.

Some years ago, my daughter and son-in-law John and Elizabeth Staley spent several months traveling and studying in Chitral and Gilgit, and received warm hospitality from the Shahzada and from many other Chitralis. I joined them for a brief trip to Chitral in 1967 and one of my happiest memories of that time was the visit we paid to the Shahzada. With great courtesy and charm he received us in his beautiful old palace at Drosb, gave us refreshment, told us something of his work and of his country and showed us the fruit trees and plants growing in his idyllic garden.

Since then, members of his family have visited me in London, and the suggestion came that these stories might be published in English. It was a great disappointment that owing to ill-health the Shahzada was unable to accept the invitation to the 'Hindu Kush Cultural Conference' at Moesgaard in Denmark in 1970, where these papers were presented.

THE FUTURE OF NURISTAN AND KALASH AREAS

Wazir Ali Shah

Various gentlemen including Mr. Yusuf Nuristani have spoken on this subject and have touched almost every aspect of the problem. I have not much to add to it but at the same time would like to invite your attention to some basic facts and problems faced by the people of these regions.

As you know the Hindu-Kush region which is the subject of this conference is a remote area lying at the meeting-place of the frontiers of several countries. In the past, when they were small independent principalities they followed their own way of life which was based on the local conditions. In the first half of this century these areas were absorbed by larger countries, but even then as these larger countries were not fully developed and were not in a position to take development projects to the remote corners of their domains (such the Hindu-Kush region is), the people of these areas went on living as they lived before.

In the recent past however great changes have come over the entire continent. With the advent of Independence, Pakistan, like other newly independent and developing countries, has been taking rapid steps towards developing the land and the effect has even reached the remote borders around the Hindu-Kush. Similarly Afghanistan has been aiming improving the lot of its people all over the country and the effect new civilization has reached its own backdoors in the Nuristan area. These countries have also been able to increase the tempo of their development and progress as a result of generous help and assistance rendered by friendly powers in Europe who have been rendering help in money, material and know-how to all the developing countries - only for political reasons (to win over friends) and partly on humanitarian grounds.<sup>1</sup>

Thus it will no longer be possible to stem the tide of change in these regions and it is evident that change may mean, rightly or wrongly, to turn villages into cities, to make roads, schools, hospitals, to wear modern style clothes, to make better homes with running water, electric lights and so on. The old culture and traditions of

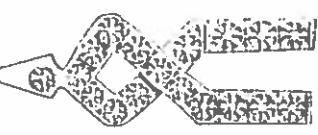
The only ambulance in Chitral is a gift of the Queen of the Netherlands.

these areas were however founded on the basic concept that the new benefits of the civilized world or developed world did not exist there and they had to have their own solutions for their problems. It would however be impossible to expect of a Nuristani or a Kalash to continue to live in their old smoky houses, to burn the 'deodar' wood for light, to refrain from sending his children to school or to avoid going to the village dispensary for treatment. But then if they start taking advantage of the new benefits, the old culture is likely to suffer. The witch doctor would go out of business, the young ones will go to school instead of to pastures, a fireplace will have to be fixed instead of the traditional 'kumal' (opening in the ceiling) in Kalash and Kho houses. These are just a few examples and it is evident that with the advent of developed society and the availability of modern facilities the entire way of life of the people of these areas will undergo a great change.

In view of the above I would suggest that instead of "protecting" the culture and traditions, which the people can decide for themselves, we should concentrate on the preservation of certain historical, religious and other cultural buildings along with their contents so that some trace of the old culture, houses and religious shrines etc. will remain for the world as well as the changing people themselves, after they have entered and gone far towards modern progress. As an example I would mention the Old Town in Aarhus which the Danish Government has maintained.

I would further add that both Pakistan and Afghanistan are developing countries and have not enough resources to undertake such schemes on a large scale in a truly scientific way as is required in such cases, because they are obliged to meet the problems of the present day much more urgently than the preservation of old traditions and cultures. The conference should therefore request UNESCO and other official bodies to extend help to the Governments of Pakistan and Afghanistan in these efforts by donations in cash and equipment and know-how. Similar help can be given by universities and other foundations.

HINDU-KUSH CULTURAL CONFERENCE  
MOESGÅRD  
1970



M. le Secrétaire Général  
René Moheu  
UNESCO  
place de Fontenoy  
Paris 7  
FRANCE

During the Hindu Kush Cultural Conference at Moesgård

on November 10th to 18th, 1970, different aspects of the culture of Nuristan and Chitral have been discussed among scholars who were born and/or have worked in the area. Through an interdisciplinary cooperation light has been thrown on many scientific problems.

The Hindu Kush mountain area is unique in combining primary arts and harmonious indigenous villages with an architecture of high artistic value, and languages and traditions having deep torical roots.

If the rich cultural inheritance of these areas is to survive effects of economic and social change, efforts should be made ensure that development can take place in such a way that

ance ment and traditions can go hand in hand at every level of civilization of these areas.

In our opinion to achieve this the following steps should be en:

The formulation and implementation of landscape planning, particularly to prevent further forest destruction and soil erosion.

The preservation of certain buildings of outstanding cultural value and of archaeological sites.

The establishment of local museums in the area, preferably in buildings of architectural interest.

The collection of cultural objects from the areas in question for traditional museum display in Kabul, Chitral and Peshawar.

5. The establishment of rest-houses and some modest hotels in houses of the local style.

6. Cultural & sociological studies to be undertaken in selected areas.

7. To develop, in cooperation with the Ministries of Education concerned, materials for use in the schools of Nuristan and Chitral so that children may be taught the value of their environment and understand that culture cannot develop - not even survive - without being in balance with nature.

The members of this international conference hereby request UNESCO to consider or to forward to the appropriate international institution an application for funds to realize the above proposals, which we unanimously consider to be urgent, through cooperation with the governments concerned.

Time is short and therefore we propose that this matter should be thoroughly discussed in Nuristan and Chitral with local and government authorities so that early action can be taken.

We, the members of the Hindu Kush Cultural Conference Committee, being in a position to draw upon the experience of scholars who have carried out fieldwork in the areas concerned, willingly offer our assistance in this matter. More details can be provided for each of the above proposals.

We request that your reply be sent to the Secretary of the Conference.

Moesgård, November 18th, 1970.

*Georg Morgenstierne*  
Georg Morgenstierne  
President

*Lenart Edelberg*  
Lenart Edelberg  
Secretary  
Holmvej 18  
6760 Ribe  
Denmark